THE NATION

MAY 9, 1959 . . 25c

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MINUET IN STEEL

Negotiations by Headline

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Dr. Libby and the Martell Report

The following letter is from Walter Schneir, news editor of a medical magazine, whose article, "Strontium-90 in U.S. Children," printed in the April 25 Nation, *set up wide repercussions which are still continuing (see editorial, p. 417).*

Dear Sirs: On April 27, *The New York Times* scored a scoop with a report on an important research paper on fallout by Dr. E. A. Martell which was to have received its first publication in the May 1 issue of *Science*. The circumstances were somewhat analogous to those surrounding my own story in *The Nation* on the third Kulp report, which also had been scheduled for first publication in *Science*.

What interested me particularly in the *Times* story, however, was that it quoted Dr. Willard F. Libby of the Atomic Energy Commission as saying that up to that time he had not received a copy of the Martell paper. It happens that I have in my possession the text of a speech delivered for Dr. Libby in Seattle on March 13—more than six weeks before the *Times* story appeared—which refers in detail to Martell's study. The Seattle text (which was released to the press but received little coverage because of its highly technical content) contains several pages of tables based on the Martell paper and also the following footnote reference: "Atmospheric Aspects of Strontium-90 Fallout. Martell, E.A., Cambridge Research Center. *Science* (In Press)."

Did the *Times* misquote Dr. Libby? Did Dr. Libby fail to look over a speech which was to have been read for him? I think it fairly safe to assume that neither happened, in which case Dr. Libby is left in an ambiguous position—to put it mildly—in more ways than one. Not only is there a discrepancy between his statement that he had never seen the Martell report, and the references to this work in the Seattle speech of March 13, but there is also a discrepancy in principle as enunciated by one of Dr. Libby's colleagues in the AEC. With reference to my own story in *The Nation* on the Kulp report, comment by Dr. Charles Dunham, head of the AEC's Division of Biology and Medicine, was summarized as follows by Robert G. Spivack in the New York *Post:* ". . . The report was actually the property of Columbia University . . . and the editors of *Science* had a right to determine, with the authors, when and where it should be published." What it boils down to is that vital research reports on fallout are sacrosanct to the authors except when a member of the AEC wants to give them out or make reference to them.

A possible explanation for this double standard comes to mind. Dr. Libby's March 13 speech used the Martell data, which predicted rapid fallout over the Northern Hemisphere as the result of Soviet nuclear tests in the Arctic, to shore up his own sanguine theories on fallout rate, which are now under heavy scientific attack. The third Kulp report, on the other hand, contained nothing but bad news, and apparently included no data that could be used to patch up any of Dr. Libby's leaky theories.

As I write this, the third Kulp report is not yet available to the public in its entirety. Yet it contains details which are of vital importance. For instance: 1,500,000 Americans, scattered through the country, are drinking milk produced from poor or untilled land which contains higher than average amounts of strontium-90. On isolated farms in the high-acidity, low-calcium soil areas of Kentucky, the highest milk samples contain twice the U.S. average; one area in western North Dakota produces milk that averages three to five times the U.S. mean.

What steps have been taken to inform the people, the physicians and the public health officials in these areas of this situation?

WALTER SCHNEIR

New York City

For an Insane Nuclear Policy?

Dear Sirs: It is useless, I know, to attempt at this late date to convert *The Nation* to a point of view which holds that bomb tests are worthwhile and necessary — and even admirable under certain circumstances. This would be to ask for a renunciation of much of what *The Nation* has been saying, and much of what our "liberals" have been advocating. . . .

The very fact which you take for granted, that of danger in testing, is a matter of keen controversy and the committee doubts that sufficient evidence has yet been presented to establish any proof of danger. Those who would serve humanity best are those who are fighting the Communist tyranny which seeks to enslave the minds of free men. Those who are testing weapons are testing the means by which we hope to maintain what is truly important—our freedom and our dignity. Stop tests, stop weapons production, and you are, in effect, inviting disaster.

ALLAN C. BROWNFELD,
Committee for Nuclear Weapons Development

Williamsburg, Va.

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 9, 1959
VOLUME 188, No. 19

THE NATION

EDITORIALS

The Beautiful American

The Luce-Morse hair-pulling match is one of those things that could happen only in America. Perhaps the most bedizened, versatile and headstrong woman in the country is nominated as Ambassador to Brazil. A Senator of the opposition party, one not lacking in temperament himself, gives her a rough but perfectly permissible going-over in the confirmation hearings. The lady wins, 79-11. A former playwright, she cannot resist a tag line so ill-advised as to cast doubts on the wisdom of her confirmation. Then the lady's husband advises her to resign in a kind of editorial statement, as if he had no other means of communicating with her.

There is, however, a serious aspect to all this opera bouffe. This is the age of the American oaf who doesn't know how to behave himself abroad and casts disrepute on his country. Mrs. Luce certainly does not belong in that category: she has manners, information and experience. But could not a better choice for the ambassadorial post have been found? Mrs. Luce is one of the most frenetic of all the Red-hunters, and she is bound to make trouble in any country which has a large disaffected population. Mr. Luce complains that he and his publications are being attacked through her. No doubt this is true, but isn't it also inevitable, and will it not happen in Brazil as it has happened here? And since Mr. Luce, sitting atop his magazine empire, cannot be called to account by the Senate, is a flank attack via Mrs. Luce completely unnatural? The Bolivian incident which *Time* triggered off is not so easily dissociated from Mrs. Luce's projected Latin-American career, nor — assuming she does not resign beforehand — will her brazen interference in Italian internal affairs pass unnoticed in Brazil.

The basic trouble, which the pushing and hauling should not be allowed to obscure, is that she is the wrong person for the job. The President's own brother, Milton Eisenhower, has a better Latin-American background and, unlike Mrs. Luce, is not hard on the nerves. There are several other better and more prudent choices open to the President. The incident may teach a lesson which the Administration needs to learn, and better late than never. The power of the Senate to review, advise and confirm is not to be taken lightly and if, as a result of this fracas, it is exercised more assiduously and appointments are made more responsibly, the country will gain more than the combatants have lost.

The Bias of the AEC

Eight days after the appearance of Walter Schneir's article in the April 25 *Nation*, calling attention to delays in publication of AEC-sponsored reports on the dangers of fallout, Chairman McCone promised that "vigorous steps" would be taken to remedy the situation. This is all to the good; yet we confess, as editors of *The Nation*, that our sense of achievement would have been considerably greater had we any real faith in Mr. McCone's ability to keep his promise. Our reservations have nothing to do with Mr. McCone's personal integrity, which we do not question; they arise, rather, from his bias — a bias shared by all members of the AEC — in favor of continued nuclear testing. The nuclear bomb is the AEC's treasured and pampered baby, and it is inhuman to ask parents to appraise judiciously the harm, however monstrous, their offspring can do. The Washington correspondent of the New York *Daily News*, writing for a newspaper which editorially fervently champions the AEC and the nuclear bomb, nevertheless felt constrained to note: "Scientists operating under policies of the Atomic Energy Commission have to do a balancing act on the strontium-90 danger. If they say that so much is a threat to human survival, then we have to slow up or call off planned future tests. So they hedge." The same point is made indirectly by Mr. Schneir in his discussion, on this issue's Letters page, of Dr. Libby and the Martell report.

In the light of its bias, the AEC should be deprived of its present public-health responsibilities — including the responsibility for disseminating fallout information — and this phase of the atomic-energy program placed in the hands of a government agency which is committed not to the nuclear bomb, but to public health.

Teller the Comforter

Dr. Edward Teller, generally considered the "inventor" of the H-bomb, was the principal speaker at the eleventh annual Forest Lawn Writing Awards compe-

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tition, held in Beverly Hills, California. For the benefit of the few Americans who may not be familiar with the wonders of Southern California, Forest Lawn is not a lawn and not a forest and not a school for writers; it is a cemetery. It is called by a nicer name, however: Forest Lawn Memorial Park. Cynics may feel that Dr. Teller was in his element at a function whose purpose was not entirely unconnected with selling cemetery lots, although some may question, in the event his invention is put to use, whether enough gravediggers will be left alive to bury the dead. Dr. Teller did not touch directly on this point, but the general optimism which irradiated his talk, as reported in the Los Angeles *Times*, must have buoyed up the hopes of the prize winners and distinguished guests. Dr. Teller urged "emphasis in all schools on language and science and predicted that the holocaust of atomic war would not destroy civilization." Dr. Hubert Eaton, president of Forest Lawn, condemned "mass compulsory education beyond grammar school" and lashed out at labor's "dominant national position." It must have been an inspiring evening.

Cum Chiang, *Cum* Rhee

The State Department on March 28 accused China of "barbarous intervention" in Tibet in violation of its solemn pledges of Tibetan autonomy. In the circumstances, the note of moral indignation has a hollow ring. For it must be recalled that in 1950, when Tibet first appealed to the United Nations for help in the face of the threat of "liberation" at the hands of the Chinese Communists, the Chinese Nationalist U.N. delegate opposed consideration of the appeal on the ground that Tibet was a part of China and "all Chinese, whatever their party or religion, regard it as such." The United States did nothing then, and Chinese military forces duly occupied Tibet. With the forfeit of the 1950 opportunity to preserve intact Tibet's *then existing* autonomy, it is a somewhat barren exercise to pretend to want to do something about it in 1959. The Tibet affair is not ended; the effects will, in fact, be felt in South Asia for some time to come. But as long as the State Department is caught in the toils of the disastrous alliance with Chiang Kai-shek, it will be unable to evolve a policy in Asia that will express American values, interests and concerns. What is needed is an *American* policy in Asia, not a series of improvisations based on the entanglement *cum* Chiang, *cum* Rhee.

The Lynching

Lynchings are more horrifying than private murders only because the community is more directly involved. No doubt some local citizens regard the lynching at Poplarville with abhorrence, but the general feeling is probably accurately expressed by Governor J. P. Coleman of Mississippi: "We trust that our citizens won't be punished by civil-rights legislation as a result of what a small handful of men have done in violating the law." The high-level counterpart of this attitude is that while lynchings are wrong, the worst thing about them is that the Communists will make propaganda out of them. That the crime is one against the conscience of a putatively Christian nation, that it is hideous in itself, is an afterthought.

The Governor, dutifully deploring, hastened to add that the case against the victim was "conclusive," that he would have been duly convicted of rape had the mob stayed its hand. No doubt the Governor was right on the second count. Actually, the guilt or innocence of the Negro is of only incidental interest to the white supremacist. A white female has been raped. A black male must die. Only in this way can the purity of white womanhood, with all its secondary economic and psychological benefits for the dominant race, be preserved and perpetuated. Occasionally an obstacle has been interposed in the form of a sheriff with pistol in hand at the door of the jail. But at Poplarville the conditions were normal, reminiscent of the twenties and before. The sheriff knew from nothing, the jailer was at his home, the jail was unattended, and the keys to the cells were hanging conveniently in the sheriff's office.

The Caners and the Caned

The Union of South Africa shares with Mississippi the distinction of having the highest concentration of racism on earth. But in South Africa beatings may be judicially administered, while in Mississippi the police merely beat up the prisoners according to their own judgment. *The New York Times* recently described the South African system of judicial caning and the public reaction to it. There was no mention of color, but it is safe to assume that whites are not often caned. It seems, however, that there was considerable objection on the part of the citizenry. The beatings were administered in the central police barracks on Caledon Square in Capetown. Business executives complained that the "reaction," i.e., screams, of the prisoners were "upsetting" women employees. "I sympathize with the police," one woman said. "It cannot be nice to have to deal out these beatings. But I wish we didn't have to listen to it." The police, their hearts touched, announced that future beatings would be shifted to the basement.

Mr. Truman at Columbia

Former President Harry S. Truman was in fine form in his lecture last week to the Columbia and Barnard undergraduates on "Hysteria and Witch Hunting." Repeating a statement he had made recently in Los

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Angeles, he denounced the House Committee on Un-American Activities as "the most un-American thing in this country today." Both Mr. Truman and Dean Acheson are to be commended for the candor with which, since leaving office, they have conceded that the Truman administration's handling of the loyalty-security and related issues was one of its worst blunders. But even while they were still in office, they often said the right things; it was their actions, not their speeches, that were at fault. On one occasion, for example, we used the cover of *The Nation* to appeal to Mr. Truman to implement his well-known "Seeds of Tyranny" speech to the National Civil Service League; a fighting speech, we said, should be followed up by some fighting action (see *The Nation,* May 17, 1952). Both Mr. Truman and Mr. Acheson doubtless regret — as their subsequent writings and utterances indicate — that this action was never forthcoming. But it is still not too late for Mr. Truman to address a direct appeal to the Democrats in Congress to vote this most un-American committee out of existence. If he would make such an appeal — and we urge him to do so — it would unquestionably be endorsed by the outstanding national leaders of the party.

How to Stop Smoking

A few weeks ago, H. W. Kastor & Sons, a Chicago advertising agency, caused a stir in the industry by buying a full page in *Advertising Age* to complain that one of its clients, the manufacturers of Bantron, was being deprived of its rights as a free enterprise. Bantron is a patent medicine sold as an aid to breaking the tobacco habit and Kastor charges that the big cigarette companies have been growling at publications which accept Bantron copy. This, says the agency, is behavior unworthy of American business at its finest. And anyhow, it hastens to add, Bantron could not possibly have a serious effect on cigarette sales.

This second, rather jarring, statement is clarified by an article in the May *Consumer Reports.* Scrupulous "double-blind" tests (neither the subject nor the operator knows which pill is being administered) have shown that heavy smokers who are determined to give up cigarettes will succeed about 25 per cent of the time if they take Bantron or a tranquilizer or a sugar pill. They will do somewhat better than that if a doctor throws a scare into them.

The value of Bantron thus apparently resides in the customer's will to believe, and that is what you might call the perfect product for advertising. If Americans can be convinced that a filter will remove a "harmful ingredient" which no one yet has isolated, they will certainly believe that Bantron will make kicking the cigarette habit as easy as child's play. At least, they will believe enough to try a box, which is what Kastor means by fair play and it really won't hurt tobacco sales anyhow.

Public credulity is the natural resource of advertising; it must forever remain in the public domain. And advertisers are foolish to quarrel over it because, unlike other natural resources, it is inexaustible.

NEGOTIATIONS BY HEADLINE:

MINUET IN STEEL . . *by B. J. Widick*

Detroit

THE RECENT decision by management and labor in the steel industry to call off their public shadow-boxing and to negotiate privately provides a suitable respite from the sound and fury that emanated from Pittsburgh, and enables us to put the so-called steel crisis in proper focus. Headline-hunters have been presenting the recent sparring between the Steelworkers Union and the spokesmen of the twelve major steel companies as a prelude to a decisive slugging match between organized labor and the country's big-business interests.

Closer observers of the labor scene felt, however, that the antagonists more closely resembled ham actors than gladiators and that the crisis — such as it was — came from a sense of mutual frustration rather than from any basic antagonism between them. The real trouble arose because this year the negotiations, at least at the outset, were conducted in the open, subject to public scrutiny, instead of being cloaked in the iron-clad secrecy which characterized the 1956 negotiations and which had brought vigorous protests from the press.

The suspicions of many observers as to what was really going on was heightened recently when David McDonald told Senator Estes Kefauver to "keep your nose out of my business." This was an astonishing attitude for a union leader to take toward a Senator whose committee last year had made such a devastating analysis of the pricing policies of the steel industry. The current Kefauver hearings into the wage-price spiral in the industry not only serve as an effective answer to the argument that wages and prices are a private matter, but also to reveal

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what has been happening during the entire post-World War II period in this decisive sector of the American economy.

In reality, all talks between the steel union and the industry since last fall had as their ultimate goal a package of approximately ten cents an hour for the union, with the industry planning to raise prices about $4 a ton. But negotiation along those lines has now become extremely difficult for both sides in view of public sensitivity to the inflationary effects of previous labor-industry negotiations in steel.

IT IS AN open secret that since 1946 many labor leaders have viewed with considerable skepticism the relationship between David McDonald, Steelworkers' president, and steel management, and the impact of the wage-price policies arising from this relationship. It may be recalled that the wage-price spiral really began in the postwar period, when the Steelworkers' leadership accepted an 18½-cent-per-hour wage increase and U.S. Steel was granted a price rise of approximately $5 a ton by the Office of Price Administration. This price increase spread throughout American industry. However, at that time a Truman-appointed fact-finding commission had recommended to the auto industry that General Motors grant the Auto Workers an 18½-cent wage increase *without* any price rise. The action of the steel union and the steel industry cut the ground from under Walter Reuther's theory of higher wages without price increases. In fact, at the time a spokesman of the Steelworkers publicly stated that prices were not the business of the union. Since then, the Steelworkers have won ten rounds of wage increases, while during the same period the steel corporations have raised prices twenty-two times.

The growing sensitivity of the steel industry to its pricing policies was given a sharp boost by publication of the 1958 Kefauver report, which pointed out:

> The most puzzling price and production movements from the standpoint of orthodox economic theory have taken place since December, 1955. The production index fell from 226.3 in December, 1955, to 146 in August, 1957. During this same period there were three price increases, raising the price index from 141.7 to 161.6. . . . While production fell by 36 per cent, prices rose by 14 per cent.

Here, of course, is a classic example of what many economists call the administered-price theory. Net income per ton of steel reached an all-time high in this period. In 1954, it amounted to $9.15 a ton; in 1955, $14.51; in 1956, $14.56; and in 1957, $18.00.

A rather interesting sidelight of this development is that the most critical comment on the steel industry's policies came not from the Steelworkers Union, but from the New York *Herald Tribune*, which on July 3, 1957, pointed out that between 1946 and 1956 steel prices had gone up 115 per cent while labor costs per ingot-ton were up only 30 per cent.

DURING this decade the steel industry not only recorded fabulous profits, but used its own cash resources to finance 70 per cent of its structural improvements and the expansion of its capacity by over thirty million tons. Is it a wonder that the current Kefauver hearings are a source of embarrassment to the industry, which has the prospect of fantastic net earnings for the first half of 1959, and that the industry will find it difficult to grant only a modest gain to the union while its own profits continue to soar?

Early in April, the Department of Labor published a report with ambiguous figures on steel productivity which served no useful purpose, since both the Steelworkers and management are aware that for every dollar the industry paid out in increased wages, it got back over $3 through higher prices; and both sides know that a recent private study of steel productivity published in a trade magazine concluded: "The productivity improvement on the production line has kept production workers' pay per unit fairly stable, even with substantial wage hikes."

In the context of this profit situation [see comments by Eugene Havas on this page], it is understandable that a growing segment of the American public is unwilling to accept the kind of settlement of the current negotiations described succinctly in a recent dispatch from

Profits in the Steel Industry

The following is a summary of testimony given before the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly (the Kefauver committee) by Eugene Havas, a consulting economist.

IF INFLATION is to be stopped—and this, apparently, is President Eisenhower's goal—administered prices must be rolled back, particularly in the steel industry. Can this be done without endangering the interests of stockholders?

[Recently John Blair, chief economist of the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, told the Kefauver committee that U.S. Steel's earnings rose from $9.14 per ton in the second quarter of 1954 to $19.31 in the last quarter of 1958. The significance of this comparison lies in the fact that the company's productivity rate was about the same in both periods.]

During the 1957 Kefauver hearings, U.S. Steel executives testified that returns to stockholders should be measured not according to par value of stock, but according to market value. Let us look at the picture from this viewpoint. In 1949, both U.S. Steel and Bethlehem Steel shares (par value, $100) were selling at $60 to $75. Since then, U.S. Steel shares have been split six ways, Bethlehem twelve ways. The present market value of both stocks is around $600 per share. *This represents a capital gain of 1,000 per cent in ten years* for the stockholders. To put it another way: In 1949, all U.S. Steel common stock was valued at about $500 million; today, it is valued at $5 billion — a tenfold increase.

It is my conviction that even with a cut of $5 per ton in the price of their product, leaders of the steel industry could maintain — and perhaps surpass — the level of profits they enjoyed during good years 1953-1958. Even a cut of $10 per ton would not imperil the current rate of dividends to stockholders.

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Washington by Ed Lahey, a competent labor reporter:

> There will be a steel strike as the three-year contract of the Steelworkers Union expires at midnight June 30. Eventually it will be settled. There will be a wage increase. There will be a price increase. And the inflationary spiral will be in another spin. It has been so since the steel crisis of 1946. After every steel settlement, the repercussions extend to the remotest corner of a society built on steel.

One is entitled to ask whether this course is inevitable. Perhaps a critical analysis of the real situation in the steel industry and the union may furnish a satisfactory answer.

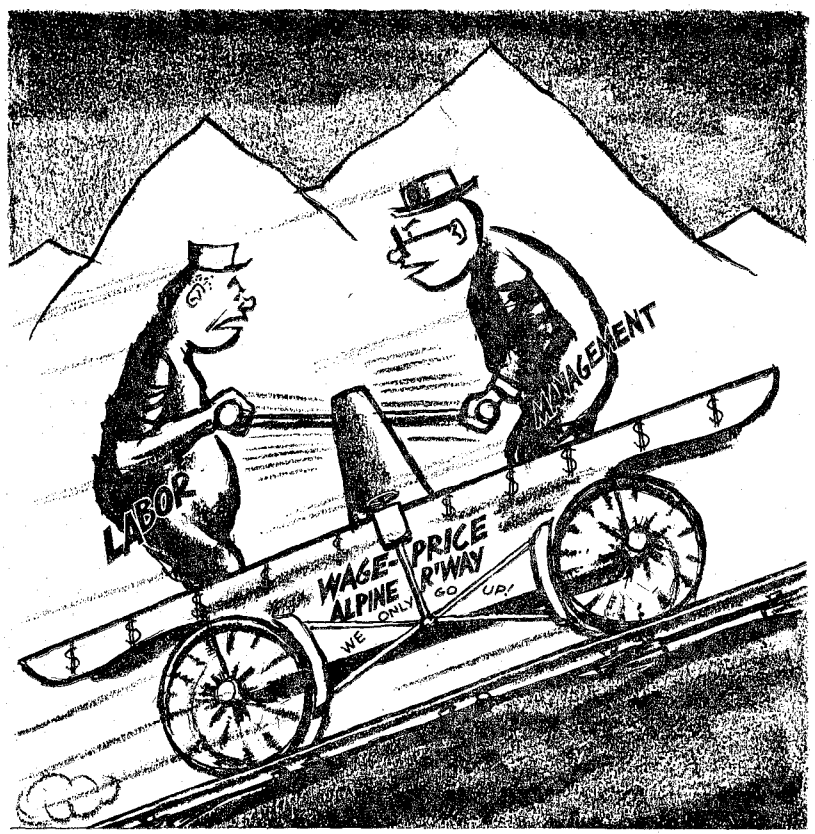
EARLY IN January, the "word" from Pittsburgh was that a steel strike this year was inevitable. Press dispatches reported that the twenty-eight major steel consumers were buying extra supplies against a strike. Steel production rose from approximately 60 per cent of capacity to its current level of 93 per cent. The fiery speeches of President McDonald at last fall's Steelworkers convention seemed to buttress the theory that a strike was due. (Among other things, McDonald had threatened a long strike unless the steel industry recognized the union's demand for a shorter work week, etc. This militancy was sure-fire stuff at the convention and had the immediate effect of overwhelming all opposition to McDonald among the delegates. McDonald's talk of a billion-dollar package for the workers was certainly as high in the sky as any small change the opposition delegates could dream up.) And the steel industry played a part in this game. From Roger Blough, president of the U.S. Steel Corporation, and from other spokesmen of the industry came the categoric statements that they were going to resist all demands for wage increases.

The steel union proposed a price freeze in return for a wage freeze. Meanwhile, playing it safe, both sides began to maneuver for public support in the event the original proposal—10 cents for the union and a $4-per-ton increase for the industry—was considered inflationary (it could hardly be considered anything else).

The threat of a strike had, of course, the effect of stepping up purchases of steel. Stories from Pittsburgh emphasized this point, but few commentators noted that by building up a twenty-two-million-ton inventory by June 30, the steel purchasers would be saving $88 million, since they would have that much steel on hand before the proposed price increase went into effect.

In the midst of all these developments, Senator Kefauver's intervention, and his calling a further hearing on the wage-price policies in steel, served to remind both sides that this year it was not going to be so easy to "gang up," in effect, on the public. The Kefauver committee report of March, 1958, pointed out that when the steel industry operates at 60 per cent capacity (as it did for most of 1958), the rate of profit for stockholders is 4.8 per cent, whereas this would increase to 12 per cent on investment after taxes if operations reached 90 per cent of capacity (which is the situation for the first half of this year). The steel industry will have great difficulty in convincing anyone that it does not have the ability to pay a wage increase this summer, and now it can no longer depend on the backhanded support of the union to justify a price increase to maintain a fabulous rate of profit.

Perhaps both sides hope to get out of the dilemma posed by their previous practices by having a short strike. McDonald made so many promises at last fall's Steelworkers' convention that he may well have to call a work stoppage to "prove his militancy." Contrary to public impression, the revolt against the Steelworkers' president has not been crushed, although it has died down temporarily. Four dissident leaders (including Don C. Rarick who ran against McDonald for president in 1957) were exonerated in recent months by local union trial committees against charges preferred by McDonald and the convention that they had been guilty of dual unionism. The four leaders are now pledged to support McDonald and the wage-policy committee of the union in the forthcoming negotiations. Their presence in the union puts McDonald on the spot to make good on his convention promises. A short strike could easily serve the purpose of



Tom Eng.—

"Don't Pump So Fast, You Fool!"

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solving this factional union problem.

For the steel industry, a short strike would furnish an opportunity to cut down, by means other than drastic production cutbacks, the huge inventories that have been built up. A strike would also enable the industry to show the rest of American manufacturers, and the Eisenhower Administration, that it was willing to "fight it out" with the union. Then, at the right time, both sides could retreat in the interest of "public welfare" in the hope that a relieved public would be more amenable to the idea that a modest wage increase and a not-so-large price increase were better for the country than a long strike.

Actually, of course, neither side desires a long strike, and with good reason. In terms of world politics, a bitter and lengthy steel strike in America this summer would certainly be grist to Khrushchev and his supporters. In the second place, a long strike would tend to upset long-established relations between the industry and the union and make a mockery of McDonald's theory of peaceful cooperation (which he has emphasized by touring the plants, in recent years, with Benjamin Fairless, former head of U.S. Steel, making joint talks to workers on the benefits of union-industry cooperation). In the third place, a long strike would have important internal union repercussions, perhaps strengthening McDonald's opposition. This prospect is no more welcome to the industry than to McDonald, for unions with sizable discontented factions tend to develop leaders who compete with each other to win greater gains from employers.

As a rule, labor leaders prefer to take a somewhat smaller gain than gamble on a strike which might get out of control. Industrial leaders, likewise, prefer a peaceful settlement, not only because a strike upsets production, but because they would also willy-nilly have to show more resistance to union demands in the future; otherwise an aroused rank-and-file would become increasingly convinced that strike action was the best way to win concessions.

Thus powerful subjective factors favor either a very short strike or no strike at all. Since 100,000 Steelworkers of the 1,000,000 in the union are now unemployed, there are mixed feelings about the value of a strike in any event. Token layoffs in the steel mills before June 30 could serve to cool off those Steelworkers who look forward to taking on the steel industry with the idea that this year's enormous steel profits make a strike worth while. How the situation actually will develop depends on the estimate of both the companies and the union leaders of the "feel" of the country and of the workers as the deadline approaches. One thing seems certain: both the union and the industry will have difficulty in settling on a package which has inflationary consequences such as followed the 1957 negotiations. Of those negotiations, the Kefauver committee reported:

> A reasonable guess as to the magnitude of increased labor costs which have arisen from the July, 1957, adjustment in wages and other benefits would fall somewhere between $2.50 and $3 per ton of finished steel. The margin between such a figure and the $6 a ton increase in steel prices would be between $3 and $3.50 per ton.

Implicit in the outcome of the steel negotiations is the answer to a basic question that confronts the entire nation: Can the United States any longer afford the luxury of the kind of collective bargaining that has heretofore marked industry-labor relations in steel, or does a new set of rules have to be established in which the genuine interests of all parties, including the consumer, are taken into account?

SPIES IN SPACE . . *by Carl Dreher*

With this article Carl Dreher, an engineer by profession before he turned to writing, continues his survey for The Nation *of the political and social implications of the technological-arms race (see "The Showcase War," November 16, 1957; "Program for a Crash," February 1, 1958; "War By Accident," September 6, 1958, and "Missile Madness," December 13, 1958). Mr. Dreher is the author of* Automation *(W. W. Norton).*
—EDITORS

AMID THE technological wonders which crowd in on us at such a pace that we can neither understand nor appreciate them, world-wide communications is one of the most complex and, to the corporations involved, one of the most profitable. The Army, Navy and Air Force must each have its own communications system and, since each service spreads all over the world, each system must be global. The duplications are likewise global.

The Air Force recently announced a program for adapting its far-flung network to the requirements of the space age, cost what it may. This conglomerate assemblage of circuits —comprising voice, data handling, graphics and teletype—is known collectively as GlobeCom or AirCom (Air Communications Complex) and the plan for its modernization and futurization is called "Quick Fix." The "quick" must have been appended to deceive the enemy, for at a press conference held at Wright Field, well attended by general officers, it was revealed that the program will continue "through 1970 and beyond." In view of this longevity, and the fact that the system is classified, none of the attending generals or their budget assistants could venture to put a dollar estimate on the ultimate cost. Unofficial estimates were that in its first stage —to 1963 or 1964—"Quick Fix" might exceed $100 million. Since such projects have a way of snowballing, it seems unlikely that the prime contractors, International Telephone and Telegraph and the

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Radio Corporation of America, will suffer a lack of government business for the next decade at least. To avoid hard feelings among other deserving corporations, it was agreed that the winners would refrain from engineering the system to give themselves an advantage in subsequent procurement. Nevertheless, it is nice to be in on the ground floor.

A PARTICULARLY glamorous possibility in connection with an expanded GlobeCom — let's call this future project OrbCom—whether the Air Force's or the Army's or the Navy's or a mere civilian outfit, is the use of orbiting earth satellites for relaying. As far as the public is concerned, OrbCom began with the launching of an Atlas on December 18, 1958, and the subsequent garbled reproduction of some Hagerty-Eisenhower banalities from a tape recorder which had been included in the missile's 150-pound payload. The project's communications system, which also provided seven teletype channels, was developed for the U. S. Army by the RCA Astro-Electronic Products Division, the Convair Astronautics Division and other sodalities of sophisticated electronics. The idea of using a satellite for relaying purposes goes back a half-century to Nikola Tesla, and has been seriously discussed by communications engineers ever since it became evident that satellites could actually be put in orbit.

To understand the possible future role of earth satellites in communications, it is necessary to know a little about the propagation of radio waves (in this context, "radio" does not refer merely to sound broadcasting, but also to television, radar, telephony, telegraphy and all forms of wireless transmission). The complexity and cost of the facilities required, both in frequencies and in money, depend on the amount of information to be conveyed and in particular on the rate of transmission. The quality of the information is not a factor: a telegraph circuit transmitting Socrates at twenty words per minute has information content, in terms of band width, only about 1/60,000 of that of a pitchman holding up a bottle of nostrum in a television commercial. Because of the wide channels required, only VHF (Very High Frequency) waves or higher can be used to transmit messages of high-information content. These waves move in straight lines, much like the waves of visible light. It is for this reason that television transmitting antennas are placed on towers or skyscrapers, so that as many receivers as possible will be in line-of-sight range. Obviously, this line-of-sight requirement makes it impossible to send the signals across the oceans. Thus intercontinental television has been balked. At the same time, the longer HF (High Frequency) waves, which are usable for overseas telegraphy and telephony, as well as international sound broadcasting, have been in increasing demand by governments and commercial interests.

HERE IS where the satellite comes in. If VHF waves, in particular, could be freed from terrestrial line-of-sight limitations, not only would international television and other new services become feasible, but VHF and higher bands might be used for some services now performed by HF. This is doubly desirable because long-range HF transmission is disrupted by violent increases in solar radiation which occur from time to time. The straight-line propagation characteristics of the VHF-and-up radio waves cannot be altered, but by use of a satellite as a lofty relay point, terrestrial line-of-sight no longer limits the range. Signals from New York, for example, may be beamed up to a satellite over the Atlantic and beamed down again to London, or vice versa.

Among new services envisioned by RCA engineers is a satellite post-office system, plausibly described by S. Metzger in a paper presented before the American Rocket Society. Overseas airmail would use standard letter forms similar to World War II V-mail. The contents of the letters would be electronically converted into high-speed facsimile signals and transmitted to the satellite, whence they would be relayed to the continent of destination, reconverted to text, and airmailed to the addressee. Even allowing for terminal delays, substantial savings in time could be expected, not only on the relatively fast air mail routes between the United States and Europe, but especially on air mail between American and African or Asian cities.

The satellite might be a delayed-relay type which would receive material by high-speed radio, store it on tape, and release it on command to ground stations near the destination points. Another idea, on which the Navy has been working, is to bounce signals off the moon; this system, however, will be inoperative except when the moon is in the right position relative to the communicating stations on the earth's surface. Still another system, good for 24-hour-a-day communication, involves a satellite capable of maintaining a fixed position over a selected point on the earth. Such a satellite would be fired into a circular equatorial orbit to a height of some 22,400 miles. With delicate guidance and adjustments once it was in orbit, it could, in theory and probably in practice, be kept at a constant altitude over any desired terrestrial location. In effect the satellite, although flying along at a speed of thousands of miles per hour, would for electronic purposes be hovering. It is estimated that with a life of one year, and allowing for failures, an Atlantic satellite would be economically feasible.

IT SOUNDS fine, and hardheaded businessmen like David Sarnoff, chairman of the board of RCA, and T. Keith Glennan, head of the National Aeronautic and Space Agency, can hardly wait to see it done. Glennan remarked the other day that interest was so keen that "several of our most profit-conscious electronics companies are spending money of their own" to secure a place in the burgeoning new industry while it is still in the study stage. There need be little fear that the companies will bankrupt themselves in their strivings for progress. The government will provide the satellites and almost all the money and, if precedent is a guide, whatever the companies contribute will be bread cast upon the waters.

Still, since it is a peaceful use of

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rocketry, should we not welcome it? Under current auspices, we should not. The fundamental difficulty is that in the hands of the present industrial and political leadership, everything serves as a cover for intensified diplomatic stratagems which we can never be sure will not eventuate in military action of undetermined scale. Atomic war as a calculated risk is not easy to sell, and it is precisely systems like OrbCom which must, in the hands of the present vendors, be viewed with the gravest suspicion. The systems themselves may have merit but, as matters stand, it would be the height of naïveté to imagine that they will be used primarily for the purposes advertised.

Among themselves, the anointed planners are franker than when they address the general public. Speaking before the Armed Forces Communications Electronics Association on March 4, 1958, Lieut. Gen. Clarence S. Irvine, deputy chief of staff of the Air Force, disclosed that a space vehicle which would "hover under control over a given portion of the world" was under study. "The possibilities with such a device are tremendous," General Irvine declared. "A more immediate use would be its potential for reconnaissance observation or for countermeasures against communications." General Irvine puts first things first, as a general sees them. His opposite numbers in the Soviet Union which, it may be conjectured, is the "given portion of the world" he has in mind, no doubt think in the same terms. The prospect, therefore, is not for an orbital post office carrying benign communications with the speed of the unchained lightnings, but rather for constellations of reconnaissance satellites hovering over enemy territory and sending back telescopic pictures of what goes on there. Already the Soviet Ministry of Communications has proposed the development of a television-relay satellite as part of the current Seven Year Plan. The next step will be for one side or the other to send up an anti-reconnaissance rocket with a hydrogen warhead. The communications experts will not be consulted or, if they are, it will be for purposes other than those they started with, just as numerous Ph.D.s who were headed for the academic groves are now consultants to the armed forces in the most flatteringly lethal capacities.

THIS IS NOT technological guesswork. It is already being done, insofar as the available radio facilities will permit. Under the caption, "U. S. Listening Net Checks on Soviet," *The New York Times* of February 8 revealed that the Western allies are engaged in

> . . . tuning in on Soviet wave lengths with a world-wide network of powerful radio receivers and radar screens. The system includes sound and screening stations in several countries just outside the Iron Curtain. . . . It is known that experts and technicians of the United States and its allies listen twenty-four hours a day to every conceivable Soviet radio wave length.

The article quotes from the Oxford University magazine, *Isis*:

> All along the frontier between East and West, from Iraq to the Baltic, perhaps farther, are monitoring stations manned largely by national servicemen trained in Morse or Russian, avidly recording the least squeak from Russian transmitters — ships, tanks, airplanes, troops and central stations.

The two university students who made this not at all surprising disclosure were jailed by the freedom-loving British.

The communications-satellite idea is merely the extension of this audio surveillance — perfectly normal in wartime—to the video realm. It is the civilian version of the Air Force's "recon" satellite program which, Norman L. Baker writes in *Missiles and Rockets*, has undergone the following name changes: "Big Brother," "Pied Piper," "Sentry," "Baby Sentry," "Discoverer" and "Midas." Baker comments that the last is the most ludicrous of all—Midas was "the stupid, greedy, mythological king who was given the golden touch." It is not so inappropriate, actually. As McGraw-Hill's *Electronics* magazine reported on January 9: "The year ahead will be a good one for our industry," with military sales accounting for $5.3

billion out of a total sales volume of $9 billion. The "recon" and communications satellites, added to "Quick Fix" and its successors, promise to swell these proceeds.

THE EXISTING audio services likewise foreshadow the future course of the international television which OrbCom will make possible. It does not promise to be an unmitigated blessing. As anyone with a short-wave receiver can find out for himself, propaganda is to international broadcasting what advertising is to domestic. In both cases the sole purpose of whatever entertainment or instruction is offered is to attract the customer and sell him something, whether it be an article of commerce, a distorted idea, or both. The striking lack of interest in short-wave broadcasting in the United States evidences the scanty appeal foreign propaganda has for the citizens of a relatively free country—especially when they are already habituated to the propaganda of their own news and entertainment media. Only in countries where thought control is overtly practiced does it become necessary for the government to go to the expense and trouble of jamming foreign broadcasts. It is hard to see how OrbCom TV will alter any of this for the better, in either direction. The Soviets will not accept our TV for their outlet stations and will jam our transmitters if we try to get it directly to their receivers—which, even in the absence of jamming, would involve severe technical difficulties. For our part, there is no likelihood that what

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is boring to the ear will be less boring if, at great added expense, the Soviets should also try to appeal to our eyes. It would no doubt have some novelty value at the outset, but so did international radio.

Of course there is also the contest for the neutral mind to be considered. A British scientist, Arthur C. Clarke, thinks that the impact of television in Asia and Africa would be enormous. "It may well determine whether Russian or English is the main language in the future," he suggests. But will it necessarily be either? Aside from the fact that the chief interest of the masses of Asians and Africans for some time to come is more likely to be in their bellies than in TV screens, isn't it possible that they will continue to prefer their own languages and ways of life? If Red China launched a communications satellite and, by some heathen deviltry, persuaded our TV networks to disseminate video broadcasts from Peking, would Americans adopt Chinese as a second language and decide to live in communes? The Chinese are probably just as willful as we are.

There is no disputing that if the superpowers ever decide to call off the cold war, there will be great cultural opportunities in international video, just as there will be in foreign travel, exchange of students and other intercourse. But for the present the high controllers look on every form of communication as a means of winning the war, not of ending it. In the foreseeable future they will misuse satellites as they have misused atomic energy. The very best that can be hoped for is a mixture of good and bad applications, with just enough of the good to make the predominance of the bad acceptable to public opinion.

BESIDES the danger of war when the great powers start shooting down each other's "recon" satellites, there is the menace of quasi-legitimate satellites, such as the communications types. "It will take a careful look," Dr. John P. Hagen told the House Select Committee on Astronautics and Space Exploration, "to determine in a very short time whether the object you see coming is some old satellite, an ICBM coming from across the water, or a stray meteor. . . ." Before such fast-moving vehicles can be made safe for mankind, international regulation, even a minimal form of world government, will have to supplant the present variant of international anarchy. There will need to be a GCC—Global Communications Commission—to allocate frequencies which now are parceled out by occasional international conferences, one of which is scheduled for 1959, after an interval of twelve years. Even more necessary is a GSCB—Global Satellite Control Board—which, presumably under the auspices of the United Nations, will issue licenses for the launching of the satellites which the superpowers are now firing ad lib, as if each by itself owned earth and heaven.

But even if this measure of order should be imposed on the present drift toward chaos, not much good can be expected of the most brilliant technological feats, for one and all are imbedded in the matrix of the cold war. Until a start, at least, is made toward the easing of its perennial crises, every technological advance will merely exacerbate the potentialities for global harm, for everything new in technology is potentially a new weapon. OrbCom is a clear illustration. To transmit by radio thousands of miles with a single repeater in the sky has manifest advantages over transmission by a hundred repeaters on the earth's surface. But this suppositional improvement in communications is inextricably linked with weapons capable—and this is not at all suppositional—of wiping out most, if not all, of the human race. If the weapons are used the survivors, if any, will derive scant comfort from the improved communications they were promised.

In the Soviet Union the moral basis of technology is undermined by Communist dogmatism and repression, in the United States by capitalist opportunism. By the technique of simultaneously frightening the populace with the Red menace, dazzling it with new technological baubles, and providing armament-generated employment, the high controllers and prime beneficiaries maintain themselves in power. OrbCom is only another super-gadget in the military spending spree designed to stimulate an economy which for twenty years has demonstrated its inability to get along without war, actual or impending. In a peaceful world it would be an inviting technological enterprise, though scarcely one entitled to top priority. In the permanent war economy to which the West, under American leadership, has committed itself, OrbCom will be welcomed only by the incurably gullible.

THE PRESIDENT or the TIGER . . *by Richard Harris*

THE PRESIDENT'S speech was announced two days before he delivered it. In Washington—and, through the diplomatic grapevine, in every capital around the world—the possible context of the speech was discussed with great avidity, for, unlike all of his other speeches, the subject was not divulged nor even hinted at beforehand. Moreover, since it rapidly became known that no one other than the President himself knew what he was going to say, that no one had been consulted, and that, in fact, the President had thrown a high-up State Department official and two Congressional leaders out of his study for being so bold as to demand that he reveal his intentions, speculation was intense.

On the morning of the day set for

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the speech, which was to be delivered before a joint session of Congress, there was a great furore in the White House. The regular consultees had still not been, and obviously were not going to be, consulted. For the first time in the history of the United States, it appeared, a President was going to speak entirely on his own. Among the results that I can testify to personally were that half a dozen eminent portfolios were torn up and flung down in resignation, a prominent elder statesman who had a thoroughly undeserved reputation for sagacity suffered a heart attack when his offer of advice was summarily rejected, and the press secretary, a raptly devoted servant, was told to get away from the President, by none other than the President, whereupon the secretary rushed off on a vacation to the Poconos to nurse his injured vanity and a peptic ulcer. As a matter of fact, the only people to come through were the owners of television and radio networks; they threw open every channel and station for the speech.

"MY COUNTRYMEN," the President began before a stilled audience of Senators and Representatives, not to mention upwards of a hundred million viewers and listeners throughout the country. "What I have to say to you today is what I must say. It is both painful and joyous to me. If it is more painful than joyous to you—as you express yourselves through your elected representatives seated here before me—I will heed your voices. When I have finished, you may wish to impeach me. I tell you now that your wish so stated is my resignation. I was elected by you. I took an oath to preserve and protect the Union. What I am about to propose is, I most firmly believe, the only way to preserve and to protect that Union. But I may be wrong. It is for you to decide. I can only say that I feel it is my duty to speak to you now. If you do not hearken, there is an end to it. The man at the Speaker's table will take my place, and the world will go on—for a time as we know it."

The President looked slowly around the great hall. At times, he stopped, momentarily, at a face, and then moved on. Every expression before him was as impassive as it was expectant. It was clear, as it is clear only in a crisis, that this was the dividing moment—soon they would either be with him or he would be alone. For another moment, he hesitated, perhaps wondering which he wanted most.

"In a sense," the President continued somberly, "nations are like individual men, and, in quite another sense, men are like boys. Honor is a man's word, but it was born in the heart of a boy. What we must do is distinguish between what is of the man and what is of the boy. All of us as boys—and many of us as men—found ourselves caught in a situation where someone seemed to be intent upon fighting us. We may have wanted to say, 'I don't hate you. I don't want to fight you,' but we could not, for our honor was at stake, and to preserve our image of ourselves we fought. The honor of a nation was once very much like that. In past wars, the deaths of our young men were much the same as the black eye and the cut lip of a mettlesome youth—badges of honor. But today nations cannot longer be doughty boys. Today honor has a new meaning. Who can say that it is honorable to kill and to die for no purpose but to kill and to die? War has always been the accumulated insanity of nations. Now, however, it is even more than madness. Half of it is murder, half of it is suicide, and its sum is death."

Stopping once more, the President took a step back from the rostrum, which he had been holding onto as he leaned toward his audience. A smile—almost apologetic—flickered across his face, as if he had some intentions of asserting his powerful personality to move his listeners. A few seconds later, though, he stepped curtly up to the rostrum and in graver tones than ever went on: "At this moment, we are faced with two absolute facts. The first is that, like a small boy who is being slowly driven to use his fists when he would far prefer not to, we are surely headed for war." There was a joint gasp from the audience, but he ignored it. "As we all well know," he continued, "the weapons are not fists any more. Nor are they longbows or rifles or machine guns or even blockbusters. All remaining to us of the old days are our pride, our fears, our hopes—and, still lingering on, our ancient methods of trying to deal with international differences. These methods, it is clear now, are hopelessly outmoded. We are anxious enough to preserve our way of life that we would fight a global war to do so, but what we would be fighting for could not conceivably survive such a war. With half or more of the peoples of the world obliterated, with ascendant terror and chaos, only the most ruthlessly forcible kind of military dictatorship can result. As for the second fact, it is that most of the people in the world are hungry, ill-clothed and housed, unable to read or write, and desperate. Like the first fact, this is alterable. If the world avoids an atomic cataclysm, it is likely that in two or three hundred years of ordinary conditions and progress little of this misery will remain. It is likely, too, that without poverty and deprivation there will be far less urge for men to kill. It is despair that makes one desire death—for another or for oneself. But we cannot sit back and wait for those two or three centuries to pass. This may be the last chance the world will have to turn aside from its despair."

STOPPING again to appraise those before him, the President hunched forward a bit and then raised one hand gently, lowered it slowly, and said, "Now I would like to speak of some cold truths and some warm hopes. Over the last seven years of peace, this nation has spent $274 billion on military preparations. That amount—$274 billion—is only $2 billion less than our total national debt. And what have we bought with it? At the best we have bought time. At the worst we have brought ourselves precariously close to our explosive end. What else could we have done with this money? Of course, we could have made ourselves nationally solvent. That is an important matter, but under present conditions it does not seem to me to be a vital one. What more could we have done? Why, we could have remade the world. We could have brought the poor and the helpless and the desperate perhaps a century

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closer to the fulfillment of their needs."

Hesitating briefly, the President raised his voice, which had begun to waver a little. "I suggest that it is time to stop this folly," he said evenly. "To stop it, I propose that for the next ten years we continue our expenditures at the same level as today. I propose, further, that we take the roughly $40 billion a year that we have been spending on armaments, and spend it instead wherever it is needed across the globe—on hospitals, on schools, on farm supplies and equipment, on factories, on teaching the underprivileged how to become privileged. I propose that we spend nothing whatever on arms."

A murmur rose from the audience and swelled to a tumultuous roar. Some members of the press broke for telephones. There were shouts—angry, confused, encouraging, dismayed. Fists were shaken. Someone was slapped. An elderly man in the gallery fainted. The President raised a hand for silence, and it fell as quickly as it had before been dispelled.

"You want to know how we will defend ourselves?" he asked, glaring at the crowd. "I offer you a choice—the destruction in agony of half the population of the world and an absolute end to any freedom besides anarchy, or the possible subjection of our lives by a foreign tyranny. Those are the worst possibilities. Which do you choose? I say further that I do not believe that the second possibility would come about. What reason could there be for the Russians or the Chinese or anyone else to murder us in our beds and take our property? What would be their excuse to the world? And could they ever despoil or subjugate an entire world of firmly united and angry men? Up till now, the nations of the world have competed for physical power and control. Let us make the competition be over health, decent comfort and the freedom to grow. The great depression has taught us that a small part of our country cannot enrich itself while the rest languishes in need. Today, due to the speed of travel and communication and to international economic interdependence, the whole world is like one country. We cannot hope to progress and prosper at a run as long as nine-tenths of the world crawls along in utter penury. By helping others to help themselves, we can only at last help ourselves. It is my beholden duty to say to you that I *know* that it is help or it is death. Man has been stupid enough, greedy enough, cruel enough for too long. Let us together be men at last. I thank you."

WITH THE greatest difficulty, the Secret Service agents finally managed to escort the President out of the Capitol. When they at last thrust him into his car, as they were forced to do, he had a bruise on his forehead, one lapel of his coat was half torn off, and there was a smudge of lipstick on his right cheek. In the following days, the world went wild. Throughout the United States, mass demonstrations for and against the President's proposal were made, and on the several occasions when the opposing demonstrators ran into each other, many on both sides were killed. The President remained in the White House, for the most part alone in his room, waiting for the country to answer him. Three attempts were made on his life by frenzied assassins who forced their way under one ruse or another into the mansion—a Communist agent, a representative of one of the large manufacturers' associations, and a retired clergyman. All three were shot down on the spot. Two days later, just before Congress was to convene in extraordinary session, the Russians and the Chinese committed a number of grossly provocative acts against the American government. The Administration ignored them, and forty-odd generals and admirals immediately resigned. There was talk of an internal rebellion. Newspapers ceased publication, and all but the most essential businesses closed down. Fist fights broke out constantly on the streets, the police across the nation patrolled night and day, and now and then a shot rang out.

The rest, of course, is well known. I am writing this down only because in the hysteria that followed the President's speech a great deal that occurred went unnoticed. I was on hand through most of it, and for some reason it seems to me that it should be put on record.

THE PARKING IRRITANT . . *by Richard Schickel*

A REASONABLE man, eying the American city, would not, at first glance, place the parking problem high on the list of its pressing problems. Surely, improvement of the educational system, slum clearance, rooting the rascals out of the police department should rank higher.

But Americans, irrationally in love with their automobiles, are not to be judged by reason alone. A survey of store executives showed that 81.3 per cent listed parking as a major problem in their downtown areas, with sixty-one of the 200 cities represented listing it as *the* major problem.

The American Automobile Association summed up the situation this way:

> Most American cities, large and small, have failed to meet parking needs, especially in their central business districts. . . . In fact, the annual outlay for parking by the urban automobile user who travels daily to downtown destinations in many instances surpasses any other single cost involved in the operation of his vehicle.

Before considering, in detail, the downtown parking problem, and what to do about it, let us pause for

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a moment to consider a simple thesis, expounded at some length by the editors of *Fortune* in *The Exploding Metropolis*: The rationale for the city, and the city dweller's way of life, is its core. It is there that the advantages of city living are found — the fine shops, the museums, theatres, sports arenas, art galleries and good restaurants. Today, the core of the city — its "vital center" —is threatened, mainly by the automobile. What is happening is that, tired of traffic and parking problems, people are taking their trade elsewhere. In effect, that which is best in city life is perhaps being destroyed by that which is worst. It is the business of this article to examine the parking mess, but it cannot be considered in a vacuum.

To begin with, there is enough curb space in American cities to park every single car that has to be parked within the city limits. The trouble is that (to take New York City as an example) a Manhattan driver's allotted space may be in Queens. There is simply not enough curb parking space where it is needed. Principally, this is because there are too many cars on the road. In 1946, there were 29 million cars; last year, there were 65 million; by 1965, experts are predicting 85 million.

IF PARKING all these vehicles is a major headache, keeping them moving at a reasonable clip is an almost Kafkaesque problem. The core of the average American city was built up in horse-and-buggy days, and the street pattern we have inherited is, as anyone with half an eye can see, inadequate for modern traffic — let alone that of the future. So traffic engineers, great ones for putting first things first, have been gaining that extra lane for traffic movement by placing the familiar "no parking" signs at many a downtown curb. The result is that each year 7 per cent of our curb parking space disappears.

Then there is our penchant for longer (and longer) cars. New York Mayor Robert Wagner, in a letter to the major auto manufacturers, begging for shorter cars, pointed out that "In the past ten years the average parking lot has lost 15 per cent of its usable space . . . while pre-war garages have lost 40 per cent. . . . Parking meters installed a few years ago . . . are no longer adequate for handling passenger cars."

The problem even directly affects the Senate of the United States. Senator Prescott Bush points out that "in the new Senate Office Building . . . it has become necessary to reduce the number of parking spaces in the garage to compensate for the growth in size of automobiles since the plans were first drawn." It is too bad this situation wasn't known before the Senators had passed the $25 billion federal highway program which will help move even more traffic to the center of cities, but which provides nary a penny for parking.

Even now, existing expressways have created a situation described by Wilfred Owen in *Cities in the Motor Age*:

> Water originates in many springs and flows into brooks, rivulets and rivers that ultimately combine into a mighty stream that empties into the ocean. Traffic does the same thing. The traffic stream has its springs in residential areas, from which it flows into roads and highways and finally merges into the broad stream of the freeway. Freeway or expressway traffic, like the swollen waters of a large river, rushes toward the city center. But here, unfortunately, the analogy ends, because there is no ocean. Instead, the rushing flood is left to trickle through the narrow canyons of downtown streets, and the result is that traffic, like water, backs up.
>
> If we wish to profit from the lessons of nature, which provides oceans for streams to empty into, we have to create retention basins at the confluence of traffic streams. . . .

We shall deal with the creation of these "basins" in a moment, but we are not yet finished with all the ramifications of the parking jam. Both the traffic and the parking problems would be greatly eased if, instead of allowing our rapid-transit systems to deteriorate further, we could persuade more people to use them. But here we are again dealing with irrational behavior. Somehow, the American has convinced himself that he is more the master of his fate if he is inching along on a crowded freeway in his own car than if he is whisking along, reading the paper, on a train. As things stand at the moment, however, he has a point. Say "rapid transit" to the average man and his immediate associations are spittoons, drafty waiting rooms and rickety trains which are perpetually late. True though this image remains, the fact is that the rattlers get commuters to their jobs in about the same length of time it would take them to drive, and without the strain of driving. And if we were to invest just a fraction of what we're investing in expressways, we could have a rapid-transit system that would move more people, more quickly, more comfortably than they can possibly be moved by car. Surveys further indicate that if railroads paid just the slightest attention to creature comfort, people would ride them. But at the moment, despite the huge population increase, fewer people use rapid transit today than in the 1920s, and all over America transit lines are being abandoned as more and more people choose to drive in and join the hunt for parking spaces downtown. Yet even our present rapid-transit system can move 40,000 people per hour past a given point. The best a single lane of traffic can do is 2,000. Thus it would take a highway twenty lanes wide to do the job of a good transit line.

Experts are predicting that unless something is done there will be an end to all railroad passenger service by 1970. A New Jersey expert gives that state's rail commuter system just five more years before it collapses completely. The result? In Manhattan, every inch of land south of 50th Street would have to be converted to multiple-level garages just to park the commuters' cars.

WE CAN see, now, the broad outlines of the problem. Engineers, practical souls that they are, have come up with any number of suggestions that may help, at least temporarily. One of the simplest things they have done has been to arm working parties with brushes and paint and set them to marking off curb parking spaces. This cuts the length of time it takes to park by 16.7 seconds, increasing the rate of turnover and, incidentally, cutting the accident rate (one out of ten accidents in-

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volves parking). They've also had some success diddling with the parking limits. Most downtown areas have too many one-hour and two-hour zones, not enough fifteen-minute and half-hour zones. Increasing the latter gives everyone a better chance at the great American game of musical parking spaces. Another idea is to include in the building code a provision requiring each new structure to provide off-street parking spaces for the traffic it will generate. This has been successful in the few cities which have forced builders to put in a realistic number of spaces, but New York rejected the idea on the grounds that such buildings generate more traffic than their own parking facilities can possibly handle, thus worsening the problem.

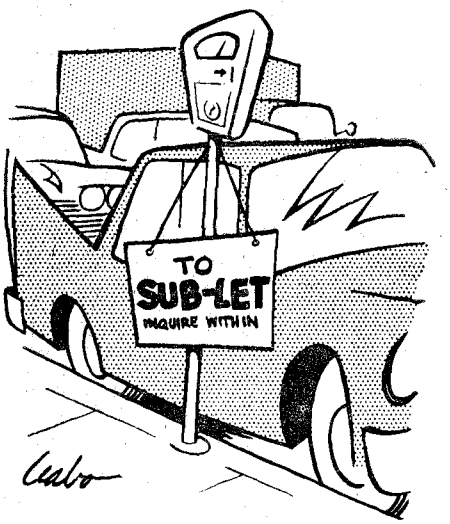
A city can always put in more parking meters, causing me and thee to howl in anguish. Before we complain, however, we might reflect a little on meters. As of 1952, Americans were feeding the no-armed bandits $75,648,942 every year. In addition, each of the 111,112 meters was collecting another $12.33 in fines. This dough, in addition to financing traffic improvements, paid for 20,315 parking spaces in 165 lots in 167 cities. So, in addition to giving the space hogs their comeuppance, they have contributed handsomely toward providing what everyone agrees must be the ultimate solution to the parking problem — namely, off-street parking.

Robert H. Burrage and Edward G. Mogren, in their authoritative *Parking* (Eno Foundation) from which some statistics in this article are drawn, put it this way:

> Parking will remain a problem as long as the public regards curb space as suitable and sufficient. . . . Streets are primarily intended for travel, and a basic policy should be that [space] needed for the freer movement of traffic should not be used for parking. . . . Removal of curb parking to relieve congestion is inescapable, but must be matched by equivalent off-street spaces. . . .

One can prove the advantages of this formulation in many ways. For instance, the street pavement on which a parked car rests costs $71; parking-lot paving costs but $20 per car space. A study of a pair of streets in Sacramento on which parking was banned and which were made into one-way thoroughfares showed that traffic volume increased 14 per cent, speed went up 24 per cent, car accidents were reduced 16 per cent and pedestrian accidents were cut 62 per cent. Merchants on the streets found business up 27 per cent.

The last figure is particularly important, for it is the merchants who complain of the "no parking" signs in front of their stores. Yet every survey available shows that the average shopper, relieved of having to



hunt for curb space and of the nagging fear that he may find a parking ticket on his return, will cheerfully trudge the distance from off-street parking to stores.

The current trend among enlightened shopkeepers is to build, or to lobby for, off-street parking. Dancing before them are visions of Quincy, Massachusetts, where sales increased up to 80 per cent when good off-street parking was provided. There is also the horrid vision of the store in San Bernardino, California, with no parking space nearby, which did only $40 worth of business per square foot of selling area, compared to a competitor who did $90 per square foot after he got a parking lot. With 37 per cent of all parking in big cities now done illegally, it should be obvious to the dullest merchandiser that it is good business to support off-street parking, which relieves his customers of their anxieties about tickets.

Ernest Gruen's plan for the redevelopment of downtown Dallas is the most visionary scheme yet for relief of these woes. He has proposed that all traffic be banned from the area, that garages be placed at the fringes and that public transport be used to bring people to the pedestrian paradise he envisions at the city's core. It is an idea that appeals to a lot of city fathers right now, and it may be the answer they all seek.

Whether or not it is, revolutionary thinking must be done about parking, for although parking spaces, thanks to the use of all the methods we have been discussing, are becoming more plentiful, they are not increasing in proportion to population, automobile and human. In Dallas, the school board has recently been forced to set up four big lots, one for 500 cars, to handle vehicles owned by high schoolers. "Kids don't have legs any more," grumps the city's school superintendent. In Idaho, a survey found a direct relationship between grades and car ownership. Not a single A student had a car, but 15 per cent of the B students did, as did 41 per cent of the C students and 83 per cent of the flunkers. In urban colleges, parking has become a major financial problem and no less an observer than J. Robert Oppenheimer has publicly worried that the increasing mobility of students may directly affect the national welfare, since the kids show a distinct preference for hitting the road instead of the books. The implication is obvious. If we are having serious urban problems because of adults refusing to leave the car at home, what happens when the school generation, with what seems to be a pathological dependence on the car, hits the city in full force?

Those directly concerned with the problem are attacking it in the good old American way — pragmatically. Yet one cannot help wondering if a more radical approach is necessary — one involving a re-education of Americans to show them what urban life could be if the automobile were placed in proper perspective.

Los Angeles is a horrible example of what can happen when automobiles are allowed to run wild. Here, as the wisecrack goes, is a "hundred suburbs in search of a city." It is a city with no core, and therefore, no heart—and what destroyed it, of course, is the automobile.

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Homogenized History

George Rudisill, Jr.

OBVIOUS embarrassment still registered on my colleague's face. A student had just asked him why we were fighting in Korea, and he had no answer. A senior professor sympathized, "I'd hate to answer that one. With that man Truman in the White House you can't explain anything these days." Today, nearly a decade later, a columnist tries to explain why so many captured GIs "technically" collaborated with the enemy in Korea by saying that they "did not seem to grasp the American heritage or American history."

Yet we spend millions every year — educational publishing in 1957 totaled sales of $484,660,000 — to familiarize our students with their national heritage, to teach them American history, to mold their civic character. More students are taking more courses in American history and related fields than ever before. The American Celebration is booming, but ignorance seems to increase and character to deteriorate in direct ratio to expenditure. The current generation is the victim of textbooks that do not teach and of teachers who have been taught nothing but how to teach. Texts and teachers are as characterless as the white-collar society which produced them.

Colleges and universities, dependent upon the high schools for their student bodies, have attempted to remedy this situation by compounding it, by adding to the plethora of surveys in American history, more of which are required of more students every year. Professional historians like Oscar Handlin and William L. Neumann have already described some of the unhappy results: text-taught teachers and untaught pupils. Even the texts, as Neumann has pointed out, are being altered to accommodate the vagaries of public opinion. In an age of acquiescence, he writes, their mood is one of "affirmation rather than criticism." The lucrative success of school texts has encouraged the imitation of their format on the college and university level; and the declining caliber of the students who have been exposed to such texts has made this almost imperative in the eyes of number-conscious educators. One representative of a college textbook firm, on the lookout for manuscripts, put it nicely: "What we really need is a good high school text that doesn't say so on the title page."

IN appearance, regardless of author or publisher, the American high school history book is fairly uniform: two oversized covers approximately seven inches by ten with from six to eight hundred pages of text between them. The covers vary from a conservative dark blue, an excellent political indicator in the case of Bragdon and McCutchen, *History of a Free People* (Macmillan), to multicolored scenic wonders more appropriate to the popular picture magazine. Wirth's *United States History* (American Book Company) is a good example. Titles stress everything from freedom and togetherness to modernity and democracy, the last being least popular, used only by Craven and Johnson, *The United States: Experiment in Democracy* (Ginn and Company). Some publishers feel that *history* is too forbidding; so instead we get Harlow and Miller, *Story of America* (Henry Holt), or Augspurger and McLemore, *Our Nation's Story* (Laidlaw Brothers). The internal format is that of a rotogravure section: lots of pictures of many sizes and styles, meaningless figures and sketches, frequent charts and diagrams, multi-hued but useless maps, and somewhere in this mélange, two columns, usually partial columns, of text. The whole business is divided into from eight to eleven Units or Parts, subdivided into from thirty-two to forty-four chapters, each division replete with elaborate introductions and reviews. Since chapters are short — Chapter 36 in Canfield and Wilder, *The Making of Modern America* (Houghton Mifflin), is all of nine pages — not much can be said in them. They resemble those fifteen minute newscasts which consist of five minutes of headlines, five minutes of commercials and five minutes of summary. You get everything but the news — or the history.

Uniformity of content borders on homogenization, just as standardization of text frequently comes close to plagiarism. The Alphas and Omegas are Columbus and Eisenhower. Fewer than one hundred pages get the reader to the American Revolution. The period since Pearl Harbor often receives as much space as the three centuries which separate the voyages of discovery from the colonists' quarrel with Great Britain. This disproportionate emphasis upon the contemporary, dictated by publishers in response to educators who are ignorant of history and to students who are indifferent to it, is misleading. First of all, the student learns about current figures like Judges Medina and Goldsborough but never hears of Chancellor Kent or Justice Story. Another consequence is a false equation of values. Thus, Cecil B. De Mille is apt to appear more conspicuously than Cotton Mather, General "Nuts" McAuliffe more than General Rochambeau, the Truman "scandals" more than those of the Harding Administration. Senator Robert A. Taft, who never succeeded in leading his party or changing its direction, attracts more acclaim than Al Smith, who did both. The political significance of the latter universally escapes notice, thereby further distorting the meaning of the election of 1932. But one must not conclude from this that the students are at least learning recent history. To the contrary, their ignorance is merely thinly veiled, not appreciably diminished. For example, the student who reads the following on the election of 1948 learns nothing:

> THE ELECTION OF 1948. Surprising the "experts," President Truman, with Alben Barkley, won the 1948 election against Governor Dewey. The Democrats regained control of Congress (Wirth, p. 717).

Given this telescoped account, the young reader can only wonder why anyone should have been surprised. Finally, because the New Deal gets more space than the American Revolution, Franklin Roosevelt more than the Founding Fathers, this superficially extravagant treatment of the recent past renders textbooks vulnerable to the conservatives' meretricious charges of political bias.

While quantitative stress inevitably makes some impression on the reader, criticism for political bias on this score is as superficial as the material under criticism. Counting lines, whether in the text or in the index, can prove delusive, as anyone who has analyzed reports of journalistic objectivity during election campaigns should know. But where

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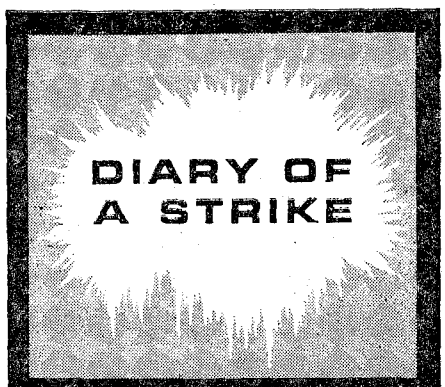
newspapers and "news" magazines are apt to be insidious, the textbook approach is blandness, evasion rather than insinuation. "We expect our authors to follow the rule of the middle of the road," one high school editor has explained. "Don't take sides in any controversy." In practice this means "presenting both sides." The New Deal, for instance, accomplished neither as much as its liberal champions nor as little as its conservative critics claim. Presenting it in terms of these alternatives, however, leaves the erroneous impression that both champions and critics are simultaneously correct. Errors compound errors; they do not cancel each other out. Instead, why not put the New Deal in context and point out that other industrial countries applied similar solutions to similar problems the world over? The primary fault of our texts, however, is not that they contain biases but that they contain nothing at all. The worst they do to a student is not to brainwash him, but to leave his brain as blank as it was before, with no sensitivities offended and no prejudices altered.

THE formula for this emasculation of American history is simple. Be brief, be factual, be trivial. This saves the reader time, spares him controversy and entertains him with idle curiosities to which only a well-developed critical intelligence could take exception. The facts can be wrong, frequently are, as when authors suggest that Columbus' contemporaries believed the world to be flat (Augspurger & McLemore, p. 60; Wirth, p. 8; Canfield & Wilder, p. 26). They can be misleading, as when the Boston Tea Party is described in terms more reminiscent of its restaging in 1957 by the Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce than of the original protest against parliamentary reorganization of the British Empire (Wirth, p. 69; Augspurger & McLemore, pp. 118-119). Facts can be absolutely true, yet deceptive. Thus, John Locke, if mentioned at all, usually appears as an English philosopher who drew up a theoretical plan of government for Carolina (Muzzey, *A History of Our Country*: Ginn and Company, p. 50). The significance of Locke's contribution to political theory is almost universally ignored; one would think that Jefferson had invented the doctrine of natural law and natural rights. Instead we are told that Jefferson invented the dumb-waiter (Harlow & Miller, p. 110), the folding buggy top (Bragdon & McCutchen, p. 176), a primitive air-conditioning system (Muzzey, p. 166), "the swivel chair, a machine to make copies of letters, a bed lamp, a weather vane that registered inside the house, and a dozen other helpful gadgets" (Craven & Johnson, p. 181). Indeed, today when the President twits the Soviets for the things they claim to have invented, the sensitive reader can only modestly blush at the elaborately devotional passages in which our texts describe not only the fruit of the inventive genius of the Founding Fathers like Franklin and Jefferson, but of Americans generally.

If a passion for detail breeds neutrality of thought, sweeping generalizations foster willful self-deception. Augspurger and McLemore (p. 169) summarize the Patristic period under the heading of three famous documents: the Declaration of Independence, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 and the Constitution. Yet the first, presented as the ideological guide of modern democracy, derived its principles from English legal tradition and political philosophy. Its popularity declined sharply in the nineteenth century, and today active proponents of its viewpoint would be liable to prosecution under the Smith Act. The second document, representing a colonial policy "far in advance of that of any other power," doubtless impressed some Indians differently. Surely it was no more "advanced" for its time than the Quebec Act of 1774, and it dealt with a far simpler problem. Finally, the Constitution, extolled as a model of the advantages of "the federal form of union," broke down in 1861 when federalism everywhere was succumbing to the forces of nationalism, liberalism and industrialism. Nevertheless, States' Rights, like "the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God," remain unassailable shibboleths in American history as do other propaganda devices such as the "Intolerable Acts" and the "Tariff of Abominations."

But shibboleths are useful things. While they divide some people, they unite others. War furnishes a useful example. We unite at home in our hatred of someone abroad; therefore no war can be futile. The War of 1812, for instance, loses its futility in a patriotic orgy of "completing our independence," as though anyone had been threatening it. The Mexican War, one of our least creditable conflicts, involves more deliberate misrepresentation than any other, including shifting the Mexican boundary and the time when President Polk first heard of the attack on General Taylor's troops. That incident may have been a godsend, but Polk had favored war before he had heard of it (cf. Harlow & Miller, p. 187; Wirth, p. 216; Muzzey, p. 254; Bragdon & McCutchen, p. 286). The Civil War is almost invariably misrepresented as a conflict over States'



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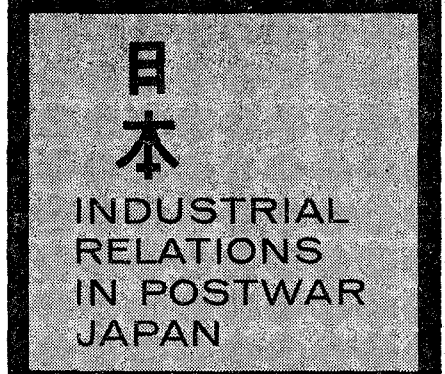

by Solomon B. Levine ". . . a comprehensive work on this little understood area of modern Japan . . . can serve as a basic source for anyone who aspires to understand the bewildering maze of seemingly incomprehensible patterns of behavior and interactions referred to as 'the Japanese labor problem.'" — *Japan Times*. ". . . invaluable to labor specialists and students of Japan as the only detailed study in English on the actual shape of the largest free labor movement in Asia." — *Washington Post*. $4.25.

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Rights, a battle between North and South or between the states. One finds little talk of the failure of the democratic process, or the inadequacy of the Constitution, or the conflict between two different concepts of society. The Spanish American War commemorates either the end of isolation or our emergence as a world power. One exception, Canfield and Wilder, candidly head their chapter: The United States Adopts a Policy of Imperialism. No such candor discolors our role in two world wars or the cold war, however. The moral imperatives of Wilson's jihad still prevail over the criticisms of George Kennan. And World War II, the war nobody wanted, was caused, Harlow and Miller tell us, by "greed and stupidity in Europe and Japan" (p. 476). "It seems strange," the same authors write (p. 480), "that a crazy man could have gained control of a modern industrial nation and millions of educated people." Not so strangely, Father Coughlin and Huey Long enjoy comparative obscurity. Accounts of the cold war read like *Time* magazine condensed for *The Reader's Digest*. Bragdon and McCutchen (p. 205) remark that "a sense of common history and tradition" are the most important elements in nationalism. Our textbook writers have in this respect gone far beyond the call of their patriotic duty.

SOMEONE has defined social history as history with the politics left out. It has pictures instead. Sometimes this is a welcome relief, for there are no more depressing chapters in the school texts than those describing American life or civilization. A deluge of unassorted trivia is the cultural counterpart of useless political detail, a technique again borrowed from the press. Canfield and Wilder (p. 434) tell us about the growing popularity of soda fountains and the introduction of chewing gum, while Bragdon and McCutchen point out (p. 650) that "a TV set often attracted 'baby sitters.'" These are safer topics than the popularization of birth control, the militarization of American society, or the increasing crime rate.

Sections on music, art, science and literature become catalogues of obscure contributors to our cultural barrenness. How many American historians would recognize the musical compositions of John K. Paine and G. W. Chadwick? And if one wants to discuss Edward McDowell as a native composer, why not mention that his preparation was quite untypical, that his start came in Europe rather than in America, and that the academic phase of his career came to an unhappy end over a disagreement with the Philistine authorities of Columbia University? Why must one of the few significant American writers, Edgar Allan Poe, be either dismissed as a Southern writer or apotheosized as the "inventor" of the short story? Few authors take notice of Dreiser, and those who bother with Hemingway at all too often leave the impression that his reputation hinges on *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. John L. Lewis invariably makes the grade; Sinclair Lewis, only occasionally. Despite long passages on science, the most notable scientist produced by the United States in the nineteenth century, Josiah Willard Gibbs, goes unmentioned. Finally, though references to American historians abound, rarely does one come across notice of the works of Alexis de Tocqueville, still less often that of Lord Bryce, Moisei Ostrogorski, Andre Siegfried, Harold Laski, Denis Brogan, or any of the other Europeans who have shown that they understand this country better than most of its inhabitants.

The most sacred cows of all are the educational system and the business community. This is only fitting, for it is from these two groups that these dreadful textbooks issue. "The crowning achievement of American life," Canfield and Wilder tell us (p. 261), "was its growing school system." Growing, of course, means getting bigger: more students, more buildings, more athletic teams, more courses, more disciplinary problems. The same applies to business. According to Harlow and Miller, (p. 277), we should remember Carnegie and Rockefeller because "They developed the giant industries on which the modern way of life depends." Even the Great Crash is subtly connected with the possibility of a financial crisis spreading from Vienna or Berlin to the rest of Europe and America, this in spite of the fact that the Kreditanstalt in Vienna collapsed in May of 1931, more than a year and a half after Wall Street. Robber barons have become industrial statesmen with a social conscience. Their problems are the nation's problems: "inflation, the huge national debt, the threat of Communist aggression . . ." (Harlow & Miller, p. 564). There is no hint of the political cost of the extension of economic protectionism under business leadership. The typical finale consists of a few platitudes from the Sage of Gettysburg, whose speeches in 1954 allegedly kept a Democratic trend from becoming a landslide. It will be interesting to see, a decade from now, how these self-appointed pundits will interpret the elections of 1958. Chances are there will be little problem. According to the American Textbook Publishers Institute, "Changes in both the climate of opinion and the march of events call for frequent revision of social studies materials." After all, whatever is is right, and scholarship can be adjusted accordingly. The proof lies in the sales.

THAT is the crux of the problem. Is textbook publishing a "public service," as the A.T.P.I. likes to think? One New York editor, when asked if he felt any responsibility toward education at all, replied, "Frankly no. We are in business, and our business is to make money. We do that by selling books." "The textbook," we are told, "is the contribution of competitive free enterprise to the public school system of America." The terms of the competition remain a mystery, but the result is much the same as in the automobile industry—standardization of price and product, the choice of both lying beyond the control of the consumer. Textbooks are the tailfins of our academic system, exaggerated in size and devoid of honest purpose.

Few professional historians will touch the subject on the school level. Those who do usually associate themselves with a co-author from the secondary schools, a good selling point for the administrative personnel who make the final selections. The remaining authors come from colleges of education which, instead of teaching history, teach teachers how to teach history. These people all write the same way, namely, by collating other

Return to Love

Shy at first but quick,
An alien thing in nature
Or lost last season's creature
Come back, half well, half sick,
On poor leathern bat wings,
Eager and creaking,
Blind still and still seeking
Where the thin sun sings—

Then strong in the array
Of this unhoped for season
That smoothes the winter lesion
Of snowbleeding earth away,
And bids bewildered grief
Remorselessly make merry
For sake of the coming berry
And the golden leaf.

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people's texts, simplifying them in accordance with the rules of Rudolph Flesch, and sending them off to editors whose function it is to remove every last trace of intelligence or originality. A handful of assistants, often recent graduates with little or no professional training in the field, do the hatchet work on even well-established professors. When the book conforms to the lowest common denominator, it is peddled by squadrons of salesmen who are as unintellectual as the customers they deal with. The better books are despised by them for being hard to sell—either because they are too intelligent or because they offend some "great sensitivity," as Dr. Austin J. McCaffrey, executive secretary of the A.T.P.I., calls it.

American history has simply become another commodity to be peddled in a protected market, its value determined by the size of the sales rather than by any intrinsic merit of the product itself. Worse yet, the effect is cumulative, each generation corrupting the next; each generation more defenseless than its predecessor, like the school boys in George Orwell's "Boys' Weeklies." The literary pablum of teenagers on both sides of the Atlantic produces remarkably similar results. British adolescents, wrote Orwell, acquired the "conviction that the major problems of our time do not exist, that there is nothing wrong with *laissez-faire* capitalism, that foreigners are unimportant comics and that the British Empire is a sort of charity-concern which will last forever." We do not speak of empire but of world leadership. And the most famous textbook of them all (Muzzey, p. 636) ends its panegyric with a discussion of Washington as a "World Capital." "The position of world leadership has been thrust upon us" — presumably just as empires were forced on Great Britain and Rome. The only other difference to note is that Orwell's boys' weeklies were pulp magazines distributed by the conservative press magnates of British commercial journalism. The bogus Americana acquired by our school children comes through the school system itself.

How Militant Is Labor?

AMERICAN LABOR IN MIDPASSAGE. Bert Cochran, editor. Monthly Review Press. 196 pp. $3.50.

Arnold A. Rogow

THE point of approach is especially important in appraising the present situation of American labor. If in the fifties we apply the radical perspective of the thirties, we can only conclude that the organized proletariat does not perform very well; it is not merely non-Socialist, it is *anti*-Socialist, and there is even some evidence that a large section of the working class does not accept the basic premises of liberal democracy. From another point of view, however, American labor does very well. In an increasingly atomized and splintered social environment, it continues to express a sense of unity and cohesion. Although the influence and extent of the "labor vote" have been exaggerated, the political loyalties of most trade unionists remain attached to the Democratic Party, and tend to favor liberal forces within that party. Despite the fact that the prevailing ideology denies class conflict and stresses a harmony of interests, there is considerable awareness in the labor rank-and-file of the facts of power, group and class in America. While the top leadership is predominantly conservative, there are still union leaders whose differences with George Meany are almost as profound as their disagreements with Charles E. Wilson. All this is a way of saying that American society, in all its essentials — culture, ideology, psychology and structure — tends to be hostile or at least unsympathetic to the *idea* of a separate, radical and organized working class; yet the idea exists, and if one examines it in its broad social context, it is possible to observe that it exists very well.

But it does not flourish, and the failure to flourish is the problem with which *American Labor in Midpassage* is largely concerned. The book originated in the July-August, 1958, issues of the *Monthly Review* and the *American Socialist*, and was the product of a collaboration between the editors of the two journals. But the book is not identical with those issues; it contains three additional essays, one of which, by Bert Cochran, provides the book with its title and comprises a third of its entire length. The other new contributions are Nancy Reeves's "Women at Work" and "Corruption and Racketeering" by Dennis Anderson (the pseudonym of an AFL-CIO staff official). Some of the original nine essays are now slightly modified.

The Cochran piece also provides the book with one of its major themes. Cochran's survey of labor history leads him to take issue with the general thesis of John R. Commons *et al*, which holds, roughly, that union growth and activity are mainly functions of the trade cycle. The Commons theory, still supported by many labor economists, argued that prosperity and rising prices promote "aggressive strikes, trade unionism, class struggle," whereas depression and falling prices turn labor to "politics, panaceas, or schemes of universal reform, while class struggle [dissolves] in humanitarianism." Allied with this is the thesis that in the age of People's Capitalism and employer-labor comradery the militant labor leader must give way, in Cochran's words, to "the sober administrator, the smooth negotiator, the knowledgeable statistician, the genial lobbyist."

Cochran's analysis of the major periods of union growth stresses that each of them covered a relatively short time span, and occurred "against a background of major social upheavals brought on by depression and war." Union growth and activity during the two World Wars and the Depression tend to support this view, and labor history in general, according to Cochran, suggests that "unionism is a product of social revolt, not of bureaucratic effort . . . of mass insurgency, not slow accretion."

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He also argues that in the insurgent eras "even conservative leaders talked radical, and when the mass movement declined, even the radicals adopted a façade of conservatism."

TWO conclusions emerge from Cochran's analysis, and they are further developed elsewhere in the book, notably in the essays by Paul M. Sweezy, Leo Huberman, Harry Braverman and William Glazier. They are, first, that economic and social instability, despite appearances, remains a major characteristic of American society; it follows from this that the essential questions about labor's stake in the system have not been answered but only deferred. Second, when the unions become aware of the underlying instability of a defense economy — for example, through unemployment and the disruptions of automation, perhaps combined with a tougher business line at the bargaining table — the present euphoria will give way to a new militancy whose ultimate expression may well be an American Labor Party.

But militancy *for what?* Or put another way, what *kind* of Labor Party? Several contributors to *American Labor in Midpassage* wistfully look abroad; it may be doubted, however, that the British Labor Party in its current phase provides a blueprint for radical action. In Britain, too, People's Capitalism has taken hold, and there is little in the Labor Party's recent policy statement, *The Future Labor Offers You*, that the AFL-CIO, as presently constituted, could not accept. For the moment, at least, the phenomenon of labor conservatism and complacency is not confined to the United States.

Moreover, the political and economic exploitation of the worker may be less significant, as Harvey Swados suggests, than the cultural exploitation which is hardly less characteristic of Britain than of the United States. Swados' essay, "A Note on Cultural Exploitation," persuasively argues that the modern degradation of the worker is a function of advertising and the mass media. The role of the pitchman, he argues, is comparable to the earlier role of the saloon keeper, and the permanent debt to the saloon has become the permanent mortgage to the installment plan.

One may disagree with this analysis, and take issue with other points scattered through the book. A few of the essays tend to be rather simplistic in their approach, and it may be regretted that there is no detailed treatment of union leaders, internal union organization, the labor press and the involvement of unions in cold-war politics (this is partly remedied in the selective but annotated bibliography prepared by David Herreshoff). Nevertheless, *American Labor in Midpassage* is an important assessment of the present condition of the American trade union movement.

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Second Impressions

Review of Paperbacks

Robert M. Wallace

Psychology

Of Love and Lust by Theodor Reik (Evergreen, $2.45) contains "The Emotional Differences of the Sexes" and viable portions of previously published works which "try to probe secret ways in which men and women search for happiness." The collection is at once fascinating and frustrating. Reik's observations and analyses are keen and obviously spring from deep experience, but at times they recall Reik's own warning that "theory which originates in speculation only cannot survive."

Though a student with Freud and indebted to him for ideas and approach, Reik departs from usual Freudian interpretation by declaring that love is not identical with sex desire and is not derived from either sex or narcissism. He derives love instead from recognition of our failures to resemble our ideal selves, and our substitution for the ego-ideal of those in whom our inadequacies are supplied, or seem to be. In this framework love becomes "second best," "compensatory" for ourselves "not obtaining the ego-ideal state."

(*John D. Kelton, Director, Test Service, University of Alabama, kindly provided the foregoing estimate.*)

Creativity and the Unconscious by Sigmund Freud (Harper-Torchbooks, $1.85), papers on the psychology of art, literature, love and religion from his *Collected Papers*, with great clarity states the basic Freudian principles and with equal restraint applies them or suggests applications in understanding of the arts and other human enterprises.

What Life Should Mean to You by Alfred Adler (Putnam-Capricorn, $1.25), assuming the pre-eminence of occupational, social and sexual desires in human motivation, presents illuminating but sometimes controversial generalizations derived from a distinguished career in psychiatry.

Literature

The Modern Psychological Novel by Leon Edel (Evergreen, $1.45; cloth, $3.50) is one of the two or three best studies of novelists' efforts, chiefly since about 1915, to penetrate and represent the workings of the mind. Mr. Edel is especially concerned with Proust, Joyce and Dorothy Richardson, with subject and technique and with the Symbolist relationships of the stream of consciousness. (*Nation*, July 16, 1955.)

The Far Side of Paradise by Arthur Mizener (Vintage, $1.25), the feverish story of F. Scott Fitzgerald, shows him as a character in the world his fiction represents as well as a sensitive observer of that world.

Prefaces to Criticism by Walter Jackson Bate (Anchor, 95c), selected from the excellent *Criticism: The Major Texts*, now provides a clearer chronological account of literary criticism than before. Too heavily weighted with British and American critics.

Ronsard: Prince of Poets by Morris Bishop (Michigan-Ann Arbor, $1.85) reanimates the springtime of the French Renaissance, countryside and city, with graceful narrative, perceptive criticism and thorough scholarship. The original French accompanies most of Mr. Bishop's many sensitive translations.

Jonathan Swift: Selected Prose and Poetry, Edward Roseheim, Jr., editor,

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(Rinehart, 95c) happily provides *A Tale of a Tub* and other prose, verse, the *Journal to Stella* and personal letters. No *Gulliver*.

The Pioneers by James Fenimore Cooper, Leon Howard, editor (Rinehart, $1.25), is the first and in many ways best of the Leatherstocking Tales; this volume is useful for reprinting the first revised edition of 1825, from which the collected edition was futher revised by Cooper.

The Classic Theatre, Volume II: Five German Plays, Eric Bentley, editor, (Anchor, $1.45) reflects Mr. Bentley's taste and sense of good stage plays in lively translations, or versions, of work by Goethe, Schiller and Kleist.

Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (Rinehart, 95c) here appears in a lively, faithful verse translation by James L. Rosenberg with superb scholarly apparatus for the great medieval romance by James R. Kreuzer.

Politics

The Power Elite by C. Wright Mills (Oxford-Galaxy, $1.95), a grimly fascinating clinical study of power and the hands which hold it today, stresses the degradation of the American public into a mass society and manipulation of that mass by a powerful few.

Jordan, Its People, Its Society, Its Culture by George L. Harris (Evergreen, $1.95), second HRAF Survey of World Cultures, conveniently assembles substantial political, economic and cultural data on one of the key Arab states.

Muhammad and the Islamic Tradition by Emile Dermenghem (Harper-Men of Wisdom, $1.50) is a profusely illustrated introduction with quotations from Moslem holy writ and philosophy.

Miscellaneous

The Land of the Great Image by Maurice Collis (New Directions, $1.45), an absorbing, instructive narrative of the travels in Arakan of Friar Manrique, a seventeenth-century Portuguese priest, depicts the tensity and excitement of the Orient and illustrates graphically some basic similarities and dissimilarities of Western and Eastern civilization.

French Country Cooking by Elizabeth David (Penguin, 85c) Anglicizes the menu and some dishes but contains very good recipes and is sound on wine and sauces. Not for efficiency apartments.

AT YOUR DRUGGIST'S: *The Rainbow* by D. H. Lawrence (Avon, 50c); *A Handful of Dust* and *Decline and Fall* by Evelyn Waugh (Dell, 1 v., 50c); *The Aspern Papers* and *The Spoils of Poynton* by Henry James (Dell, 1 v., 50c); *Laughing Boy* by Oliver La Farge (Pocket Library, 35c); *The Sound and*

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MUSIC

Lester Trimble

I SHALL BE surprised if musical history does not record that American opera, as a movement, had its beginnings at the New York City Center in the spring seasons of 1958 and 1959. For more years than one likes to consider, American composers have been writing for the lyric stage, but in hope rather than expectation. A few works have been produced by professional companies. University and conservatory workshops have, in recent times, provided possibilities for small-scale productions. Even the Metropolitan Opera, which is oriented toward music of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, has paid occasional attention to the homegrown, twentieth-century product.

But a scattering of performances does not create a dynamic or a movement —nor do semi-amateur or student undertakings. For this, a certain concentration of force must be achieved, and a continuity then established. The enthusiasm of the public must be drawn into the venture, too, for without it the lyric theatre cannot exist. These things can happen only in a professional opera house; one unhampered either by innate traditionalism or by an audience preconditioned to enjoy only established repertory. In America, they could happen only at a place like the City Center, and under the stimulus of a lively-minded director like Julius Rudel.

One of the most encouraging new offerings of the present season was Carlisle Floyd's *Wuthering Heights*. In the past, I have not been particularly a Floyd fan. His *Susannah* has had a considerable success at the City Center during these two American seasons, but it seems to me a thin product, depending upon the kind of folklorism which has become a cliché since Copland started it all with his admirable Americana ballets. In *Wuthering Heights*, however, Floyd has laid folksiness aside and made a respectable gesture in the direction of universality. His choice of subject guaranteed that the work would tend toward melodrama, but within that framework he has achieved a musical expression which hints at the emotional depth and breadth required by serious opera. His characters have substance; the libretto he fashioned from the Brontë novel succeeds in framing events, far-flung in time and space, within the confines of three acts and a proscenium.

Wuthering Heights is more interesting as a transitional work than as a musical achievement in itself. Its vocal and orchestral language attracts one's attention at a given moment and sustains itself by a sort of determination, even in long, ensemble numbers. It does not remain in the mind, however, and the after-flavor is neutral. What is wanted, of course, is a stylistic personality, and there is every reason to hope that Floyd will arrive at his own, convincing, musical style. Certainly, he seems to be headed in that direction. And his dramatic gift is unmistakable.

WITH Norman Dello Joio's *Triumph of St. Joan,* which also made its first appearance at the City Center in this series, the problem of style is more vexed. Dello Joio has been preoccupied with the idea of St. Joan for at least ten years. The present work is his third essay at the subject. The second, entitled *The Trial at Rouen,* was televised in 1956 by the NBC Opera Company. I did not see the preceding versions of this opera, but judging by the present one Dello Joio has become transfixed by a story which embodies significant hazards for a composer whose style is light in coloration. Fluency his music has, as well as a certain gracefulness. But I cannot imagine how he could achieve the dramatic intensity needed for any treatment of this material, except by moving radically from his established mode of expression. The more effective the stage presentation becomes, the more the disparity widens between the tragic seriousness of the story and the relaxed lyricism of the score.

Dello Joio is a thoroughgoing professional, and his *Triumph of St. Joan* possesses all the smoothness of workmanship associated with that competence. It would be beside the point to belabor the one or two flaws in dramatic presentation which are contained in this latest version of St. Joan's travail—the emphasis, in this instance unconvincing, on her wearing of men's clothes, for example, or the slightly disappointing scene of her immolation at the stake and subsequent transfiguration. Had the music been able to carry a sufficient burden of the tragedy, these things would not have mattered.

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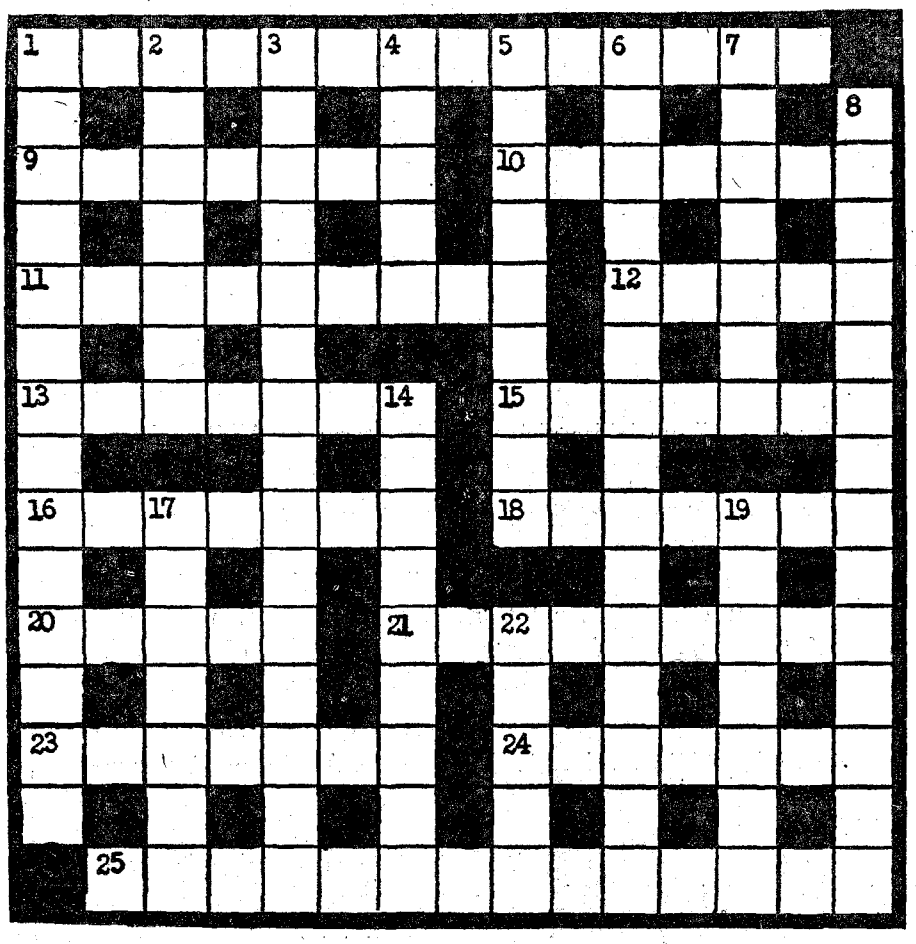
Crossword Puzzle No. 819

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 His savings may or may not be used (5,9)
9 Ran out with a favorite animal, in a way. (7)
10 Her soup pleased Pluto. (7)
11 Is one's place in front of the shower? (4,5)
12 Might be found on top in the militia ranks. (5)
13 A study in degenerates and rats in general. (7)
15 Your suit won't get pressed if you do. (3-4)
16 Suggestive of peaches—in the large, or giant size! (7)
18 A suggestion of the first course to study? (7)
20 A child of Uranus and Gaea. (5)
21 The bright type? (9)
23 Sounds like viola's lowest is a likely spot for tar. (4,3)
24 Sandburg's Hog Butcher. (7)
25 They possibly hope the habit catches on. (5,9)

DOWN:

1 To break fast before a religious holiday is to do more than enough! (14)
2 Alkali can't shake it in further! (7)
3 With parents gone, he is fatherless by implication. (15)
4 Rank distinction! (5)
5 Certainly not water-tight conclusions by which the time-killer might be found. (5,4)
6 Freedom is found on top of it. (7,8)
7 Theater, perhaps, for a production of A. Pinero? (4-3)
8 The country is about to follow a couple of fools, and they're treacherous! (14)
14 What the commodore has on his shoulders in port? (9)
17 To last longer, should be something other than undergarments! (7)
19 To make one of this, one might demonstrate how to burn the first and drink the second. (7)
22 Just in case? Not quite all of it for the first of 11. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 818

ACROSS: 1 Pitched battle; 9 Equip; 10 Esperanto; 11 Escheat; 12 Revised; 13 Totes; 14 Digestion; 16 Nose rings; 18 Topic; 19 Topspin; 21 Interim; 22 Oligarchs; 23 Moira; 24 Theoretically. DOWN: 1 Predestination; 2 Truncates; 3 Hoppers; 4 Dwelt; 5 Asparagus; 6 Thrives; 7 Ernes; 8 Holding company; 14 Dining car; 15 Impartial; 17 Replace; 18 Totemic; 20 Point; 21 Inset.

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WHEN IS TRUTH?

Developments between Monday, April 20 and Sunday, April 26:

MONDAY — *The Nation* appeared on newsstands with an article by Walter Schneir* revealing that scientist J. Laurence Kulp and associates had reported to the AEC at least three months earlier that the absorption of strontium-90 in children's bones doubled in 1957. Mr. Schneir found that the Kulp report was being held for publication in the scholarly magazine, *Science*, for some time late in May or in June.

WEDNESDAY A.M. — New York metropolitan dailies picked up the story; an AEC spokesman told *The New York Times* that the commission "was not officially involved in the Kulp report." The *Times* carried a summary of Kulp's study.

WEDNESDAY P.M. — Senators Anderson and Humphrey expressed dissatisfaction with the AEC's handling of fallout data; National Committee on Radiation Protection and Measurements, an advisory body of scientists, revised upwards (to the objection of other scientists) the "maximum permissible concentration" of strontium-90 in human bone.

FRIDAY P.M. — In response to a query from *The Nation*, A. R. Luedecke, AEC general manager, explained (a) that while the commission "supported" the Kulp study, it had followed practice in this case by permitting scientists whose work it sponsors to make their results public in their own time and in their own way; (b) assured *The Nation* that "the commission is making arrangements for non-AEC scientists engaged in commission-sponsored research to make possible regular publication of the data by the commission as quickly as possible. . . . "

SUNDAY — Confirming Mr. Luedecke's announcement, Chairman McCone of the AEC stated that the commission was taking "vigorous steps" to hasten the process of making fallout information public. Meanwhile the Air Force, acting because "it believed the public was entitled to know about the results of unclassified research at Government expense" (*The New York Times*), released in advance of scheduled publication an AEC-sponsored fallout report by one of its own scientists.

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Thanks to* The Nation, *truth came a little sooner the week of April 20-26.

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